UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Psychological Obstacles to Religious Experience

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Thoughts of Tolstoy

PART I

Some Church Leaders

By SYDNEY STRONG

Britain's New Policy in the Near East

By TARAKNATH DAS

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1930 NUMBER 8

THE ASSUMPTION OF SUPERIORITY

"I have come to know through long and painful experience that there is no outrage which is committed by human beings on each other which cannot be forgotten in time by some common interest and sympathy arising—except one, the assumption of superiority; the one who assumes it and the one who has to submit to it are irrevocably divided. And I would say that if the much-talked-of clash between East and West should ever become a reality . . . then the fundamental cause will be this assumption of superiority by the West. . . . As long as the world lasts, hard feeling will culminate in such ghastly and ugly deeds as recent history records whenever it is stimulated and used by leading politicians to satisfy their greed and lust for power. But nothing they effect can be lasting; only the struggle to level all nations and classes and men will never cease till man stands with man on a basis of equal dignity and justice."

—Halide Edib, in her "Memoirs."

At the recent convention of the American Legion in Boston, a banquet was held at which it chanced that President Hoover and ex-President Coolidge sat side by side at the head-table. The next morning the Boston *Herald,* in a leading editorial, published among other sentiments the following:

> It is not usual for a President and his wife and a former President and his wife to be seated together at one table in the presence of 1,500 or 2,000. The spectacle of President and Mrs. Hoover and former President and Mrs. Coolidge together for an hour or two yesterday was something to be remembered for many years. There is a respect amounting almost to reverence for the office of the presidency. When a President and his predecessor, the only living ex-President, thus sit together, the attitude of the people, as could be observed yesterday, was one of devotion, almost of awe. And, in these days of scoffing at authority and of rebellion against discipline, it was good to notice the attitude of the people.

On reading these words, we happily remembered our mother's good remedy for sick stomach, and just in time got down a good dose of soda and water. After recovery, we began to ponder this utterance from the pontifical chambers of the Hub, and to see a sentiment which was serious as well as silly. For some time it has been evident to the sensitive observer in this country that the attitude of newspapers and the people generally toward the presidency and its transient occupant was getting to be curiously like the attitude of the citizens of a monarchy toward the king. We had not realized that this attitude had developed to any such degree of servility as the Boston *Herald* suggests. Until we read the above words, we had never thought of "devotion," much less of "awe," being associated with Herbert Hoover, much less with Calvin Coolidge. But we have noticed in recent years that criticism of the president has been increasingly resented by the public, and any realistic attitude toward the White House more and more difficult. The crime of *lèse majesté* is not altogether a fantasy in America today. But we hesitate to believe that this nonsense is really going to any such ridiculous lengths as this lip-lapping newspaper in Boston would seem to indicate from out of its swoon at the august presence of two presidents all at once. We should lose all faith in the American people forever if we thought there was not enough sturdy manhood left in our citizenry not only to resent but to ridicule this worshipful prostration before a president as before a god. The chief executive is no sacred symbol of the nation's life. He is a political leader more or less accidentally placed for a little time in an office of first responsibility. This ought not to be hard to remember eight years after the death of Warren Gamaliel Harding!

Everybody is digging in for a terrible winter. In New York City, a group of philanthropic business men have undertaken to raise $150,000 a week, to give employment to ten thousand men in road construction, park improvements, etc. Ten thousand men thus provided for still leave many more tens of thousands of men in this great city idle, and among these latter are engineers, executives, clerks and bookkeepers, the white-collar class generally, whose plight is perhaps the most pitiful of all. But this is a splendid undertaking, which other cities are imitating. Thus, Boston has appropriated $1,000,000 from the city treasury as a relief fund, and is seeking another $2,000,000 from private givers. President Hoover, in much the same spirit, has organized a national relief body—"a starvation committee," Senator Harrison calls it. It must be humiliating to the President thus to admit that all the prophecies of good times coming back, made continuously and vociferously by himself and various members of his administration, were just so much empty wind. But just for this reason we commend the President the more for facing reality at last, even on the eve of the Congressional elections, and doing what may be possible to tide over the misery and wretchedness of the winter. For let us not fool ourselves—this winter is going to be a ghastly one! For months the countryside has been filled with wandering men and women, knocking at farm-house doors for food and opportunities to work. With the coming of cold weather, these unhappy beggars will all drift into cities already overcrowded with hordes of unemployed. At the same time relief funds will fall short, as resources of individual givers fail. What we have is a crisis created by a defective economic system which in turn has no remedy, either temporary or permanent, to cover. It is amazing to us that a society which pretends to be civilized should be content to meet these ever-recurring experiences of misery, and still, generation after generation, do nothing about it. What wonder that revolutionists arise and declare

that with such a system of society there is nothing to do but smash it altogether!

The attack on "Legs" Diamond in New York, the latest and most dramatic instance of gang warfare in the United States, has attracted universal attention in England and on the continent. It is everywhere taken as a typical illustration of the kind of civilization, or pseudo-civilization, that prevails in this country. Episodes of this kind are, of course, simply inconceivable in Britain and in any nations of Europe outside the wildest areas of the Balkans. Of all the comment we have seen, an editorial in the Manchester *Guardian,* filling more than a column in the most conspicuous place in this great newspaper, seems to us the most pertinent and just. We cannot use our space here to better advantage than to print certain portions of this editorial:

We cannot but marvel on this side that the United States authorities should be so helpless in dealing with them. Their activities must have the effect of weakening authority. When one set of criminals can announce publicly their intention of killing another and carry out that intention in the full glare of newspaper publicity, the general prestige of those responsible for law and order must inevitably suffer.

Probably the ultimate causes of such a state of affairs lie deep in the American social system. We are told that most of these gangsters are of Latin origin, that they are recruited largely from precocious youths fed on poor cinema fare who knock about the streets of the great cities. We are told that the Volstead act is responsible for much because it has made available an extremely lucrative business for the unscrupulous. All this may be partly true, yet the fact remains that American civilization, wealthy, astonishingly virile as it is, cannot succeed in producing an adequate system of law, that its only means of getting rid of a particularly disagreeable type of criminal is by allowing such to destroy one another.

The fate of a Jack Diamond is without significance in itself. The social attitude toward him is significant of much.

You would not offhand expect to find in any civilized country the sort of conditions that now prevail in China. Yet this gangster business, if you examine it closely, is not so unlike China, though on a smaller scale. All the machinery of law exists in America, but the thing does not work properly. It does not work properly because the public conscience does not function as it should.

Though gangsters are an inconsiderable proportion of the whole population in America, they carry on their activities unchecked, and the only reason for that can be that at the bottom the public does not mind them, does not feel that what they do is wrong. You cannot blame the police in such a case. The police are merely the instruments whereby the public sense of what is right or wrong expresses itself.

For the United States to be compared by intelligent foreign opinion with China is illuminating, to say the least. This is a kind of "Chinafying" of our civilization which Theodore Roosevelt never thought of when he used this unworthy phrase as an indictment of pacifists. Certain it is that we are reverting fast to barbarism, and it would seem to be a wholesome thing to "stop, look, and listen."

The utter emptiness and insincerity of the politician mind was never better illustrated than at this moment when politician after politician is tumbling like a circus-clown to stand upside down on the Prohibition question. A few years ago there came the great "dry" sweep which carried a century of temperance agitation on to the great victory of the 18th Amendment. At that time all the politicians suddenly discovered that they were "drys." There was no evidence of it in their records, no sign of it in their lives. But the people seemed to be for Prohibition, so of course they were! Now, under the artificial momentum of one of the wickedest and best financed agitations this country has seen in many moons, there has come a reaction against Prohibition. This reaction was due in any case, but it has been greatly accelerated by potent influences, in politics and out, which are as ready to corrupt the nation for selfish ends in this field as in any other. The result is immediately a new tumbling act on the part of the politicians. They are now all discovering most unexpectedly that they are "wet." Mrs. McCormick, of Illinois, gives the perfect picture of a politician who is ready to be either "wet" or "dry" at the call of the card. We think the politicians are terribly mistaken in this last bid for popularity. Tides swing in and out, but the vast sweep of the ocean currents of the nation is toward the abolition of the liquor traffic. Prohibition is destined to repeat the history of anti-slavery. But the point is the hypocrisy, the cowardice, the sheer dishonesty of the politicians. These men—the great run of the small fry who infest our political waters as minnows infest our tidal streams and bays—believe nothing, and therefore will do anything. Verily, verily, democracy is a mighty thing to be able to survive the ministrations of such servants as these.

A new art is suddenly appearing among us—the fine art of disappearing. The case of Judge Crater, of New York, has become famous throughout the land. A judge held in high repute, he became unexpectedly and very indirectly involved in the current judicial scandals, and suddenly on a day in August disappeared from the sight and sound of men. On one evening he was dining with friends in a Broadway restaurant; on the next morning he was vanished as completely as though he had been snatched up, like the prophet, in a cloud of fire. Equally sensational is the disappearance of Charles V. Bob, business man and corporation magnate. It is rumored about that Mr. Bob is wanted by some officer of the law to answer certain questions about financial matters. A few days after the release of this report, Mr. Bob journeyed to Chicago. He later telephoned to his New York office that he was returning that afternoon by his private aeroplane, and —that was the end! Mr. Bob has gone to join Judge Crater in the mysterious limbo of the unknown. The disappearance of the Gastonia Communists is a somewhat different kind of affair. We know that these men have skipped bail, and are now enjoying refuge in Russia. But it is none the less a "get-away," with the men in question not to be had when they are most wanted. One wonders, as he ponders these stories, what these men hoped to gain by their acrobatic feats. Was Judge Crater afraid of publicity? He has had more publicity in the last two months than any amount of political scandal could have brought him in as many years. Did Mr. Bob have something he wanted to hide? His private affairs have been ripped open with a thoroughness that no inquiry or even trial could have equalled. Did the Communists hope to serve their cause by running away and thus living to fight another day? By their apostasy they have dealt a more serious blow to Communism than any ever dealt by any of its enemies. It's a wise thing, after all, to "face the music." But this is also a *brave* thing! These men had no courage. They were cowards.

Early in October, in the city of Frankfort-on-Main, in Germany, the devotional exercises of a certain synagogue on a certain evening were suddenly interrupted by the entrance of a contingent of bewildered Hitlerites. These *Stahlhelme,* as they are called, were being attacked in the streets by a formidable crowd of enraged Communists, and had rushed into this synagogue for shelter. The Jews, thus disturbed at their devotions, knew perfectly well that these German Fascists were every one of them anti-Semites. They were familiar with these men as their slanderers, traducers, and potential persecutors. Yet they received them before their shrine, and thus gave them protection from their enemies. Some people have called the action of these German Jews "Christian." But why Christian? We recall a somewhat similar situation to that in Frankfort a month ago in Jerusalem a year ago. Terror-stricken Jews, in August, 1929, were rushing through the streets of the Holy City in flight from Arabs who were massacring them in cold blood upon the pavements. These Jews were in desperate need of shelter and protection, and they passed many doors, among others Christian doors. And all these doors were closed and barred; and carefully chalked upon the panels were crosses to indicate to the Arab assassins who went running by that they were Christians who lived here, and that *therefore* there were no Jews! One would have thought that, at such a time, these Christian doors would have been opened, and the cross lifted to invite the Jews in for sanctuary from their enemies. But the cross is not used that way—at least, not in Palestine where Jesus was born. In this hour of terror and death in Jerusalem, Arabs, Jews and Christians apparently all agreed that the cross meant that Christians were not to be disturbed in the business of saving their own skins while other men perished for lack of friends. In the light of such an episode as this, we think it something of an insult that these heroic and forgiving Jews in Frankfort should be described as "Christian" in their noble deed. We incline to believe that these Jews themselves would be quite content to be called just *Jews!*

Psychological Obstacles to Religious Experience

The science of psychology, as it developed towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, was hailed as the savior of religion. The biologists and geologists had done their worst in breaking down the theological structures of the ages. One by one, the dogmas of the Church seemed to be shattered under the heavy artillery of the various "ologies," until the man who still retained his beliefs in the historic creeds and doctrines was desperately casting about for some scientific sanction which would make his convictions intellectually respectable.

Of course there were folk in those days as there are today who insulated their religion from the rest of life and who therefore had no difficulty in maintaining their beliefs in spite of the profound changes in the method of thinking which science was producing. They were blissfully undisturbed by the tremendous upheavals which were shaking the foundations of other men's philosophy of life. They stuffed their ears with authority and became deaf to the roaring avalanches which swept from all sides and engulfed the more intellectually alert.

But the more influential as well as the more integrated minds needed to make their religion part of a consistent whole. They could not believe in one sphere of life something which was diametrically opposed to an accepted truth in another sphere of life. They could not be satisfied to have "one foot in an ox-cart and another in an airplane," which Professor Harry Elmer Barnes declares is the predicament of many people in this era of our culture.*

*See Twilight of Christianity, by Harry Elmer Barnes.

Such persons therefore who believed that religion was valid, but who also believed that it must find scientific sanction, turned with undaunted hope and confidence to the new psychology which was developing, as we have said, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

There were two phases of that psychology which made man feel that at last he had found a scientific stronghold for his religious convictions.

The first of these phases was the discovery and elaboration of the theory of the subconscious or subliminal self. Here indeed was a bulwark behind which the embattled theologican could retreat with safety. Here none of the hostile "isms" or "ologies" could pursue him, for their realm is the conscious life and the moment they leave that realm they are like fish out of water—they flounder about gasping for breath. They cannot possibly live in that rarefied atmosphere.

To change the figure, psychology opened up a deep well into which the religiously minded man could dip his bucket bringing to the surface all manner of experiences, which had their source in the unseen depths of the subconscious.

This new psychological doctrine was not used by the more intellectual as a mere escape from the problem of facing hard realities, though such a doctrine lends itself with great facility to such abuses. Far from being a flight from reality, it was conceived as being the path which would lead straight to the very heart of the deepest truths in man's life. The rationalism of the utilitarians was supplanted by a new view of human nature which saw in man not primarily a thinking, analyzing machine motivated by pure truth,

but rather a being with unplumbed depths of rich racial inheritance, motivated by emotional drives, and containing within him storehouses of profound potentialities of experience.

It was from this

subliminal self—that came the insight of the poet and the intuition of the prophet. Art and religion, mysticism, love, invention—these and many other striking facts of human nature are thus made intelligible by one hypothesis. An 'inspiration of genius' will be in truth *a subliminal uprush,* an emergence into the current of ideas which the man is consciously manipulating of other ideas, which he has not consciously originated, but which have shaped themselves beyond his will, in profounder regions of his being.*

The reading of such authors as Myers and William James will reveal the fact that the "new psychology" of their day looked upon this field of the subconscious as peculiarly the seat of religious experiences. The "subliminal uprush," becoming scientifically respectable for the time being, was believed to be the *fons et origo* of all the noblest reaches of the human life at its best. Therefore the people whose mental composition was such that they needed scientific sanction for their religion found it in this new doctrine, and they felt that at last they had discovered an argument which would permanently put to rout all fears and doubts about the reality of religious phenomena. The conflict between theology and science might seem to be irrepressible and inevitable, but that was because it was a phenomenon of the conscious reason. It was a struggle of analytic ideas. But far down below this surface disturbance were the still depths of the eternal verities. Here all was serene and authoritative. Here conflict was solved, not by reason, but by life itself.

Another doctrine of the new psychology of that era, promulgated by Professor James and hailed as a savior of religious perplexities was the "will to believe" and the pragmatic value of faith in testing the validity of belief. Here again we have a reaction against the hard and cold rationalism of the older scientists who held that belief should rest only on the best possible logic and should come as close as possible to laboratory demonstration. The older scientists would not hold belief intellectually respectable until it had been analyzed by the most rigid processes of the conscious analytical mind. This hard and absolutist point of view is represented by Clifford when he says:

Belief is desecrated when given to unproved and unquestioned statements for the solace and private pleasure of the believer . . . whoso would deserve well of his fellows in this matter will guard the purity of his belief with a very fanaticism of jealous care, lest at any time it should rest on an unworthy object, and catch a stain which can never be wiped away . . . If (a) belief has been accepted on insufficient evidence . . . the pleasure is a stolen one . . . It is sinful because it is stolen in defiance of our duty to mankind. That duty is to guard ourselves from such beliefs as from a pestilence which may shortly master our own body and then spread to the rest of the town . . . It is wrong always, everywhere, and for everyone to believe anything upon insufficient evidence.**

But now comes upon the scene a revolutionary proposal (revolutionary at least from the point of view of the scientific mind) to the effect that belief may be justified not merely because it is logically demonstrable, but because it can be proved by will and faith! The religious man *per se* was accustomed to this type of reasoning. He was familiar with it in the life and writings of Pascal, that extraordinary genius who as a child was discovered demonstrating something like the 32nd proposition of Euclid with a bit of charcoal on the pavement, and who later turned his brilliant talents towards the justification of religion.

But the religious man of the 1890's or the 1900's hardly dared follow so bold an approach to the validity of religion, because by that time science had become too authoritative. It would not do to quote Pascal because he belonged to the pre-evolutionary age. But when a professor of psychology and philosophy of one of America's greatest educational institutions, a man well versed in physiology and modern science makes a plea for the validity of faith, we have a very different situation.

Listen to Professor James:

There are, then, cases where a fact cannot come at all unless a preliminary faith exists in its coming. *And where faith in a fact can help create the fact,* that would be an insane logic which should say that faith running ahead of scientific evidence is the "lowest kind of immortality" into which a thinking being can fall. Yet such is the logic by which our scientific absolutists pretend to regulate our lives.***

It was thus the thesis of Professor James and others of his school that in the deepest concerns of life such as religion, we are not only justified in "believing where we cannot prove," but that we can come as near to proof by believing as by any other method. How do we know that there is such a thing as truth? And how do we know that we know truth when we see it? And why do we value truth at all? Why do we follow its gleam with such unswerving loyalty and such high sacrifice?

The answer to these age-old perplexities is to be found not in pure reason but in the "passional" nature of man, in drives of will and in the need to believe. Therefore faith in the old Pauline sense which is conviction plus dynamic action, is the true gateway to the profoundest realties.

This doctrine, like that of the subconscious self gave hope to those religiously minded folk who needed some kind of rationalization for the deepest convictions of their lives. Moses, Paul, Luther, and Pascal were right. We are saved by faith. But in the 1890's and 1900's it would not do to say that we are saved by faith because Moses, Paul, Luther or Pascal said

*Quoted from "The Religious Consciousness," by James Bassett Pratt, Ph. D. The Macmillan Co.

**Quoted from The Will to Believe, etc., by William James, published by Longmans, Green Co.

***Quoted from "The Will to Believe, etc."

so. It was because Professor James said so, for was he not a psychologist-philosopher?

Thus psychology came to the rescue of religion and the eternal verities seemed safe forever in the keeping of this newest of sciences—the science of the soul.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

(To Be Continued)

Jottings

China's Communists are called "Reds" today because they are struggling to overthrow within China all evidence of class distinction, capitalism and imperialism.—Boston *Herald.*

We have never been anything of a Communist, but if this Chinese variety is genuine Communism, we fear we may any day be converted.

The situation in India seems to us to be painfully simple. Any policy which places and holds a man like Mahatma Gandhi in prison stands by that one fact condemned.

It is amusing, and also informing, to note the persistent way in which the "Wets," like His Majesty, the Devil, quote scripture to their purpose. The old slave-holders were great adepts at quoting scripture—and a lot of good it did them!

Bernard Shaw says: "The poor old theatre is done for—there will be nothing but 'talkies' soon."

David Belasco says: "As the public is turning away from the talking picture, it is ready—for a great revival of the legitimate stage."

These men are great authorities—and they agree about as well as authorities on any question!

William R. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, is warning the country against "forces at work to commercialize unemployment for the purpose of breaking down our government." If such "forces" are "at work," they are foolish. For here is one job that unemployment can be trusted to take care of itself in most effective fashion.

An appeal to the American Legion to "vindicate the law" is good. The Prohibition law, for example, at a national convention! J. H. H.

Some Humanist Prayers

I.

From the confusion of our daily lives,
The petty cares that flood upon our souls,
From the perplexities of circumstance
We seek sweet refuge in the calm of prayer.
Our souls reach up to the eternal things
To all that fosters, heals and edifies,
To those rare insights that enable us
To place abiding values in our lives,
To unify the forces of our will
With ancient and with present prophecy,
And fuse the discords of the hour and day
Into soul-satisfying harmony.

II.

With reverent hearts we share a cosmic thrill
That we are one with the great stream of life;
Which untold ages has been surging on,
Creating every myriad loveliness;
That we are not dead atoms, blindly tossed,
Through static space throughout unmeaning time;
But are aquiver with expectancy
And have the consciousness that what we do
Shall pass forever down all future time,
And leave its imprint on eternity.

III.

Again we dedicate our hearts and souls
To serve and foster the abundant life,
And in the spirit of the Prince of Peace
We pledge ourselves to service in its cause.
We yearn for light, for the returning life,
For confidence in the abiding good.
Deep in our souls we feel the consciousness
That we are the forces in the cosmic life
That what we think and dream and dare to do
Will help to shape the teeming universe,
That we have come as did the Prince of Peace
Not to destroy, but with our utmost zeal
To quicken, to build up, and glorify
The prophets and the basic law of love.

IV.

Each morning, noon and night our souls are thrilled
By beauty lurking in the streams and hills,
By the great drama of returning day,
By the deep mystery of the subtle night.
With reverent spirits we go back again
To all the wonders of the golden past.
We stand in awe at all the miracles
Wrought by the cunning mind and hand of man.
Again our souls with aspiration glow
To be at one with the great tide of life
To carry forward all our precious gains
To find the vision of more perfect dreams
Fraught with salvation to humanity.

V.

Again we feel the joys of gratitude
That we may toil in our America
Unspent in wealth, not rent as others are
By everlasting fratricidal war,
That we are children of the golden West
Still throbbing with rich opportunity—
That we may witness—may participate
In the great changes of our wondrous time
When every day produces miracles, wrought
By the mind and active hand of man,
That wives and daughters in our blessed land
Are freer from corrupting servitude
Than womanhood in other lands and climes.
That life moves forward, that rich promise calls
To the new youth now grappling with the world.

University of Nebraska. PAUL H. GRUMMANN.

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from Tolstoy's "Readings for Every Day" here published for the first time in English*]

UNITY begins in this issue the serial publication of selected passages from a book by Leo Tolstoy, entitled "Readings for Every Day," which is now being published in full for the first time in the official centenary edition of Tolstoy's works in Russia. During the author's lifetime about half of the original text appeared in the form of separate monthly booklets, with omissions due to the censor. The remainder was either not published at all, or appeared in newspapers in imperfect and abbreviated form. None of this material has ever before been translated and published in English.

"Readings for Every Day" was Tolstoy's third and last attempt, according to the editor of the Russian edition, to compose "a book for daily reading based on his conception of life." The two earlier works of the same general type were called respectively "Thoughts of Wise Men" and "A Course of Reading." The last work differed from the other two, writes Mr. Gusseff, "not only in the arrangement of the material, but also in the preponderance of Tolstoy's own thoughts over those of other authors. Part of these thoughts were written by him especially for this book, and part were taken from his other writings, and worked over again, often with considerable alterations."

As originally prepared by Tolstoy and as now being published in Russia, the book is divided into twelve monthly sections, and each section into chapters corresponding to the calendar days of each month. In the preparation of the book for serial publication in a weekly journal, it was necessary to abandon this dating by months and days. The chapter divisions, however, in arrangement of paragraphs, and in order of succession, have been scrupulously kept as Tolstoy himself arranged them. For "in every month," wrote the great Russian, in interpretation of his book, "the subject matter of every day logically follows from the subject matter of the preceding days, so that every month sets forth one and the same definite religious and moral understanding of life, from which a guiding principle of conduct is derived."

One other change has been made in the handling of the material for UNITY. Interspersed among Tolstoy's own thoughts in the text are numerous quotations, or paraphrases, from other authors. These secondary passages are invariably interesting and illuminating, especially as they are gathered from widely scattered sources both ancient and modern. But the text had to be cut somewhere, as it was much too long to be published complete in these columns. Assuming, therefore, that the interest of the readers would be primarily in Tolstoy, I have preserved all of his new original paragraphs, and, with few exceptions, cut out the quotations from external sources.

I would here make acknowledgement to the translator, Mr. Vladimir Tchertkoff, who placed this invaluable material in my hands and gave me permission to publish it in UNITY. In collaboration with Miss Alice Davis, he writes in explanation of the translation:

> In preparing it, we have tried to convey the exact meaning of each thought in words as near as can be to those of Tolstoy; and also to keep his style intact so far as possible. Since we have deliberately preferred accuracy to graceful phrasing, the reader may find our translation wanting in respect of style. In compensation, however, we offer him a translation in which we have rendered the meaning of every thought of Tolstoy as accurately as we could; and we feel that this is most important in a work of abstract and philosophical thought, where each subtle shade of meaning has a special significance.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I

1

The law of God consists in doing that which he wills of men. All men are alike. And therefore the law of God is one and the same for all.

2

The law of God consists, not in rituals, but in deeds—in doing that which God wills of us, and in *not* doing that which he does not will.

3

The life of men can only then be good, when men know the law of God and follow it.

4

Man may look upon himself as an animal among animals, living in the present day; he may also look upon himself as a member of a family or as a member of a community, of a nation, living in centuries; he may, and even must, by all means—because reason irresistibly draws him to this—look upon himself as part of the whole infinite world, living an infinite time. And, therefore, a rational man should establish his attitude, not only to the nearest phenomena of life, but to all the world—infinite in time and space—understanding it as one whole. And such an establishment of the attitude of man to this whole, of which he feels himself a part, and from which he draws guidance in his actions, is precisely that which has been called and is called religion.

5

True religion is not a fixed belief, established once for all, in certain supernatural events alleged to have taken place at some time, and in certain rules set up by some sort of a supernatural being and his pupils and followers; nor is it, as scholars think, a remnant of the superstition of age-old ignorance, which in our time has neither meaning nor application to life. True religion is the attitude of man to his neighbor and to all the infinite world, established in harmony with reason and contemporary knowledge.

6

"The soul of man is the lamp of God," runs a wise Hebrew saying. Man is a weak, miserable animal so long as the light of God is not burning in his soul. Only when this light is kindled in his soul does man become free and mighty. And this could not be otherwise; because then, not his strength, but the strength of God acts in him.

7

In the creeds of all peoples, past and present, there are rules which change, but there are also such as are eternal. These eternal rules make up true religion.

8

The true religious law is so clear that it is impossible for people to excuse themselves by professing ignorance of it. For people who do not wish to comply with it, there remains but one course—to renounce reason. And this they do.

II

1

We call our "self" that soul which lives in our body and is bound to it.

2

They say that one should not love oneself. But without love for oneself there would be no life. The only question is, what to love in oneself: the soul or the body.

3

There are two ways of life: to live for the body and to live for the soul. Live for the body, and you will soon learn that the joys of the body are not lasting, that with the years they grow fainter, and that at any moment they may end in death. Live for the soul, and you will know such joys as become greater and greater with the years and fear not death.

4

Everyone who has lived a long life was at first an infant, then a child, then a man or a woman, and then an old man or an old woman. But, however, the person may have changed, he always spoke of himself as "I." And this "I" in him was always one and the same: the same in the infant, in the adult and in the old man. Now, this unchanging "I" is precisely that which we call the soul.

In speaking of different vessels of water, we say "a pail," "a barrel," "a bottle," "a dipper," but we know that the water in all is one and the same. Just so in speaking of people's bodies, we say "a boy," "a girl," "a woman," "an old man," but we know that in all these bodies that which is spiritual is one and the same.

5

People often think that the spiritual is of all things most difficult to understand. On the contrary, the spiritual is easiest of all to understand and the physical is incomprehensible.

6

Only look upon yourself as a purely physical being and you become an insoluble riddle to yourself. The solution which presents the origin of worlds and living things in terms of time and space, diverging ever farther and farther, is hidden in the conception of infinity, not inherent in the mind of men. But let man once understand that his "I" is a spiritual essence confined within the limits of the body—then there is no riddle whatsoever; and not only he, himself, but all the world as well becomes comprehensible.

7

When we say, "This was, this will or may be," we speak of worldly, physical life. But besides this life which was and will be, we know in ourselves still another life—the life of the spirit. And this spiritual life, which was not, will not and may not be, but now is: this is precisely the real life. It is well for man to live more often in this spiritual life and not in the worldly, physical one.

8

If we compare our physical strength with the material forces of the world, then we are nothing. But if we look at our soul, at our spiritual "I," in which lives the Spirit of God, then we understand we are not *nothing,* but that *something* higher than which we can conceive nothing.

9

People say, "Save the soul." But it is impossible to save the soul, because it cannot perish. The soul is of God, and God cannot let that perish which is part of his very self.

One thing is possible: to purify the soul of that which hides it from itself, to enlighten it; and this we do each for himself, all of us for each other, and above all, God for all of us.

It is possible to save the perishing, but not the eternal.

III

1

Only then does man understand his life, when he sees himself in every man.

2

A river is not like a pond, and a pond is not like a barrel, and a barrel is not like a dipper of water.

But in the river, and in the pond, and in the barrel, and in the dipper, there is one and the same water. And just so with the spirit dwelling in people: looking at the body, it seems that every man is different, but in spirit all men are alike; because one and the same spirit dwells in all—in the well man and in the sick child, in the young Tsar and in the old beggar-woman, and in all that which lives. One and the same Spirit of God gives life to all.

3

The life of men is hard only because they do not know that the soul which dwells in each of them, dwells also in all men: hence the enmity of men toward each other; hence some are rich and others poor, some are masters and others workmen; hence envy and spite; and hence—all the ills of men.

4

We are indissolubly united, not only with all men, but also with all living beings, united by our consciousness that the spiritual principle which gives us life is just the same in other beings.

5

It cannot be said that apes and dogs, horses and birds are not our brothers. If we say that they are not akin to us, then why not say that those people whom we consider savage are not akin to us; and if savage people are not akin to us, then are not Russians less than kin to Japanese, and Japanese to Russians? Who indeed is our neighbor? To this there is only one answer: Ask not who is thy neighbor, but do unto all that is living as thou desirest it should be done unto thee.

6

Do not to others what you would not have them do to you, applies not only to people but also to animals.

7

If we were not so blindly subordinate to the custom which enslaves us, then no one of those people who are in the slightest degree sensitive to the feelings of others could reconcile himself to the thought that it is necessary to slaughter such a great number of animals daily for our sustenance, in spite of the fact

that the bountiful earth supplies us with the greatest variety of vegetable treasures.—(*Bernard de Mandeville.*)

8

In the delusion that our actions with regard to animals have no moral significance, or, to use the language of generally accepted ethics, that no duties whatsoever exist with respect to animals, a revolting coarseness and barbarism is revealed.—(*Schopenhauer.*)

[*To Be Continued*]

American Notes

Some Church Leaders

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise is the one who named the "Ten Church Leaders." Knowing that he is a leader himself—the "Ten" he named, no doubt, would vote him into their ranks—I turned my feet this Sunday morning towards Carnegie Hall, where the Free Synagogue holds services, and Rabbi Wise was advertised to speak upon, "New York: Corrupt, But Not Content!"

I followed the old Jewish advice, to go early and swiftly to the synagogue, for I noted that the doors are "closed promptly at 11:30." Several inferences from this! I am reconverted to early going. It might be said that the half hour preceding the invocation is the most valuable time spent in the service. Ideas, plans, inspirations, while waiting upon the Lord, were as plentiful as the one hundred flowers that were banked before the pulpit. The outline, for example, of an oratorio as noble as "Green Pastures" floated before my mind, which would be called "The Evolution of God!" If some artist-soul will write me I shall be happy to pass it on. Some Negro, I think, could do it best.

There was a half-hour of music—organ and vocal. The music of this synagogue is hidden entirely behind a tall screen. Neither is it loud, but soft and indistinct. It gives the suggestion of being "within the veil." I could just distinguish occasional words like, "Is my shepherd; shall not want." It gives one the impression of being the voice of the Eternal. All this time, the one hundred-foot stage is empty, save for the flowers, pulpit and three chairs. At 11 o'clock, the room is more lightened, and out from the huge curtain steps Rabbi Wise, and in marvellous, worshipful tones declares: "In every place where you cause my name to be reverenced, there I will come unto thee." What an inspirational voice! It is not the voice of one crying in the wilderness—rather the voice of one speaking out of the calm of Mt. Sinai! I know of no speaking voice that reminds me so much of the music of the Spirituals that constitute half the glory of "Green Pastures."

Then the responsive reading, beginning with "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever." Then the Scripture Reading that consisted of a reading from Theodore Parker, the "greatest of American prophets," and from James Russell Lowell:

> What we want is a country whose very name shall not only, as now it does, stir us as with the sound of a trumpet but shall call out all that is best in us by offering us the radiant image of something better and more enduring than we; of something that shall fulfill our thwarted ambitions when we are but a handful of forgotten dust.

One could have gone away at that point and have been satisfied, every moment up to that time had been so filled with suggestion and inspiration. If I wanted to effect the cure of an atheist, or a 100 per cent humanist, I should commend sitting in the Free Synagogue for an hour every Sunday under the guidance of Rabbi Wise!

And what did he have to say about "New York: Corrupt—But Not Content"? Much every way! Remember we are in the midst of an election.

"Moral corruption of the city is the greatest problem of the city." He was "filled with a deep sense of shame, of horror," as he remembered evidences of evil manifested now especially in the judicial system. "The sale of judgeships is vile, for the courts are the sanctuary of the people, and they are verminridden." . . . Cheap, incompetent and dishonest vulgarians manage city affairs.

He then turned on men of large affairs for their base tolerance of misconduct. Our city is a business of $630,000,000. Would men of affairs put at the head of such a business of their own the kind of men that are at the head of our city's affairs? There is no moral, no political leadership. The followers are quite equal to the chief magistrate!

After letting his prophet's wrath fall upon those in charge with scathing words, Rabbi Wise offered a practical program of action: "There should be a non-partisan municipal government. All the city's government should be carried on in non-partisanship spirit. We should have a competent city-manager." He pressed this home in closing. His love of New York was great, but he loathed her shame! He had passed from being a fiery Amos to an administrative Moses who would lead the people out of the Wilderness. And Moses was the "meekest man" because he formulated quietly the *program of action* that took the people out of Egyptian bondage.

Rabbi Wise is right. Partisanship in municipal elections should be abolished. I was in New York during last Spring's election. It all seemed to be a clamour of political slogans, without direction, of charges, without clear proof. I thought often of my own city, Seattle, where it is illegal to file in a municipal election as a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Communist. This is one step that New York must take before advancing far. The city-manager form of government would also help. There is actually no *political* issue in city government; it should be business, pure and simple. It is widely admitted that a Republican mayor of New York would not be much, if any, better than a Democratic mayor. It may be seriously questioned if a Socialist mayor would be much of an improvement. As long as there is a partisan mayor (i. e. Democratic, Republican or Socialist) the things that cause Dr. Wise to blush for shame will recur. Non-partisanship, along with a city-manager, is essential before the citizens get very far out of the wilderness. Wouldn't it be wiser—along the line of the suggestion of Dr. Wise—for the liberals, progressives, and radicals to spend their energies accomplishing this change?

Coming out of the synagogue, while in the crowded aisle, an energetic citizen at my elbow exclaimed with emphasis, "Our city must be put on a non-partisan basis!" I replied, "Amen!"

SYDNEY STRONG

Britain's New Policy in the Near East

I

Preservation of the British Empire and expansion of its territory, power, influence and prestige in all parts of the world, *by all possible means,* is the principal objective of British foreign policy. In spite of change of party governments, this policy remains the same. With a change of government, which occurs to suit the internal and external conditions of the British Empire, the leaders of various parties shape their policy in such way as will be most conducive to furthering British imperial interests. From this point of view there is nothing new in British policy in the Near East. But at the present time one can discern that the British Government has decided to adopt tactics which will be regarded as new to many people.

The territory between Sudan and Egypt and India must be brought under British control and influence; the raw materials, man power, strategic position and markets of this vast region must be utilized—if not monopolized—for the furtherance of British power! This has been the policy of Great Britain for a century. The diplomatic history of Britain in relation to Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan demonstrates this fact. There are, to be sure, instances when Britain took sides with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan against Russia; but this policy was adopted to check Russian influence and not to further the interests of Asian states. Whenever Britain has aided one Asian state against another, she has always extracted very valuable concessions for the service rendered.

During the early part of the twentieth century British Tories as well as Liberals decided to co-operate with Russia and France to crush German commercial rivalry and political power; and they agreed to divide North Africa and the countries in Asia amongst themselves. Without going into details, it may be summarized that Great Britain agreed that she would annex Egypt, and allow France and Spain to divide Morocco. (*Vide* "Morocco in Diplomacy," by E. D. Morel). Great Britain made definite agreements with Russia for partitioning Persia—the northern region to be under Russian control and the southern part to be virtually a British colony. Great Britain made further agreements with Russia to extend her control over Afghanistan and Tibet, while Russia was to make outer Mongolia a part of the Russian Empire. France, Britain and Russia agreed to dismember the Ottoman Empire—Russia to secure control over Constantinople, Britain to annex Mesopotamia and certain other parts of Arabia, France to establish her supremacy in Syria. (These facts have been discussed with documentary evidence in such works as "Entente Diplomacy and the World War," by Siebert and Schreiner, and "The Origins of the World War," by Sidney B. Fay.)

When the World War was over and Britain had gained her points regarding the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, she did not wish to see her promises to czarist Russia regarding northern Persia and Constantinople carried out. This was due to two reasons: (1) Britain did not wish Russia to secure control over Constantinople and northern Persia, and (2) she was opposed to all measures which might strengthen the position of the Soviet Government in Russia, which had made a separate peace with Germany.

II

To understand the full significance of the new policy of Britain in the Near East, one must carefully study the text of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, which was drawn up by the late Lord Curzon after the Treaty of Versailles. By this treaty, which was signed by certain Persian ministers who were later repudiated by the Persian nationalists as British agents, Britain secured virtual control over Persian finance, army and foreign relations, and thus made Persia virtually a British protectorate. It may be remarked that, after the World War, the late Lord Curzon laid the foundation of the present British Near Eastern policy, which has been slightly modified to suit changing circumstances. This policy has three distinct features which are closely inter-related with one another: (1) Elimination of Russian influence in the Near East; (2) prevention of possible co-operation between Russia and other states in the region of the Near East; (3) gradual establishment of financial and military protectorates over various states in the Near East, even under the guise of signing formal alliances, and thus bringing them within the orbit of British influence through securing their membership in the League of Nations.

The most important reason for British opposition to Soviet Russia lies in the fact that Soviet foreign policy for a time practically demolished the pillars of British power in the Near and Far East. To be concrete, I mention four outstanding instances: (1) The Soviet Government aided the Persian nationalists to revolt against the above-mentioned Anglo-Persian Treaty, negotiated by Lord Curzon, and made it impossible for the British to make Persia a British protectorate. (2) The Soviet Government entered into alliance with Turkey, which made it possible for Mustapha Kemal Pasha to oust the British and Greeks from Turkey, and organize the new republic. (3) The Soviet Government aided ex-King Amannullah of Afghanistan to make his country truly free and independent of British control. (4) The Soviet Government gave up its special spheres of influence in China and abolished the then existing "extra-territorial jurisdiction," and aided the Chinese nationalists, under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, to carry on the war against British interests and those factions in China which were pro-British.

The Soviet Government was not content with hurting British power and prestige in various parts of Asia, but adopted the positive policy of creating a new balance of power in favor of Soviet Russia and against Britain. For a time the Soviet Government succeeded admirably in its aggressive anti-British campaign in the field of international diplomacy. This was primarily due to the unsurpassed diplomatic prudence and ability of M. Tchicherin, ex-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who laid the foundation of the new foreign policy of Soviet Russia. By various pacts, agreements and neutrality treaties, the Soviet Government succeeded in securing the support of Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey. For some time it was generally recognized that there was a *de facto* offensive and defensive alliance between the four states of Soviet Russia, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan. This was a genuine threat to British supremacy in the Near East and in India.

III

It is quite natural and legitimate that British diplomacy—political, financial as well as military—should direct itself to undermining the formidable *bloc* of Soviet Russia, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and take necessary steps to strengthen British influence within the whole region between Sudan and India. If one studies current events in international politics in the Near East, keeping in mind the above broad principles of British diplomacy in this region, it will be clear that, during the last two years, Britain has been gaining the upper hand over Russian diplomacy.

The new mode of operation of British diplomacy in the Near East, during the last few years, has been simple as well as effective. *Britain decided to end unnecessary friction and conflict with Egypt and the Arab states, and to strengthen British position through Egyptian and Arab support.* The actual inauguration of this policy came in effect when the first Labor Government under J. Ramsay MacDonald made the offer of a virtual alliance with Egypt without giving up the substance of British power in Egypt and Sudan. The idea behind this project was to offer Egypt nominal independence and make her a member of the League of Nations, and at the same time secure a guaranty from Egypt that the Egyptian army, finance, territory and raw materials would be at the full disposition of Great Britain to aid the latter on any occasion which might endanger the security of the British Empire. Of course, Britain did not propose the treaty of alliance without safeguarding her own position in Sudan and on the Suez Canal. Furthermore it was laid down that Egypt would not pursue any independent course in international affairs, but follow British advice and direction. This proposal of an Anglo-Egyptian alliance is one of the cleverest moves of British diplomacy, and, if successful, will undoubtedly strengthen the position of Britain in the Mediterranean region, North Africa and the Near East.

For a time the British Government was not friendly to Ibn Saud, the King of Nedj and Hedjaz, and supported Emir Feisal, the king of Iraq. However, at the present moment, the British Government has adopted the policy of befriending both Ibn Saud and Emir Feisal, to use them to strengthen the British position in the Near East. It seems certain that the British Government feels sure of the support of both Ibn Saud and Emir Feisal, *and therefore, to please the Arabs in general, has modified its pro-Zionist policy in favor of the Arabs of Palestine.*

IV.

Egyptian and Arab support to Britain will have great significance in world politics. If ever France and Britain are involved in a conflict, then Britain, with an alliance with Egypt and the Arab states, will without great difficulty be able to defeat France in North Africa and Syria. In any hostilities between Britain and Turkey, or Britain and Persia, or Britain and Russia, Arab support will be of tremendous value. Britain is anxious to give up her mandate over Iraq, because the treaty of alliance between the Governments of Great Britain and Iraq, concluded on June 30th, 1930, offers Great Britain greater advantage militarily and economically than is involved in exercising the limited rights of a mandatory power. Under the proposed treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Egypt, and the Anglo-Iraq Alliance, Britain will be able to utilize British-trained Iraqi and Egyptian troops in any part of the world. *To strengthen her position in Europe, France has entered into alliance with Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia; similarly Britain is taking steps in concluding alliances with Egypt and Arab states to strengthen her position in the Near East.*

Those who are not yet initiated into the intricacies of international diplomacy, may think that Britain is very generous when she proposes to form an alliance with Egypt, or Iraq, or when she agrees to confer a limited form of dominion status on India. The real reason for such offers lies in the fact that the international situation in Europe and other parts of the world is not stable, and Britain cannot maintain her supremacy in India, Iraq, Trans-Jordania, Palestine, or Egypt, if she is faced with a hostile combination of powers in Europe, and if the United States and Japan refuse to come to her rescue. If India, Egypt and the Arab states revolt simultaneously and British security in Europe is threatened, Britain will be unable to maintain her present position in India and the Near East. This being the case, British statesmen think it wise to form alliances with Egypt and Iraq, and to humor Indian nationalists with promises of concession and even dominion status. The superiority of British statesmanship lies in its ability to adjust itself, under peculiar circumstances, without surrendering imperialistic interests. One must admire British Socialists and labor leaders *for their ability to function as the upholders of British imperialism* in the Near East and in India by adopting new and effective tactics.

TARAKNATH DAS.

Tom Mooney's Mother

You, his mother, watch him lie
Shut away from tree and sky
In a living tomb that spells
Agony of untold hells.

Bound in prison, he may give
Courage by which we must live.
We draw the strength of mountains from
The bravery of his martyrdom.

Though the hearts of mothers bleed
For your sorrow and your need,
You have borne a son whose name
Shall make the souls of people flame
For a swift, triumphant birth
Of new justice on the earth.

LUCIA TRENT.

To the Red Cross

On its refusal to aid the distressed families of strikers

Symbol of loving care to friend or foe
Though once you were, you may be fairly classed
Again with club and gun and knife and rope
And all those tools wherewith the worker's hope
Is crucified, now or in ages past.

Yes, now as then, the Cross is crushing low
A myriad of warped and furrowed backs.
No more a beacon to the weak, we find
Its shape and hue call up to Labor's mind
Thoughts of the bloody Fascist double-ax.

KENNETH W. PORTER.

The Study Table

The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi

I.

This book* is, according to my scale of values, probably the most significant and important book of the year. Why so? Because it is about the life of the greatest and most significant man now living, and is written by himself in a manner which is most revealing. Mahatma Gandhi is the world's greatest living man both quantitatively and qualitatively. He has the largest following of any living person, and has infused a new spirit and strength into India, the second largest nation in the world, containing about one-sixth of the total population of our planet. Furthermore he has profoundly disturbed the largest and strongest empire the world has ever known. Qualitatively he is so great by reason of his supreme moral and spiritual strength, beauty and charm of character.

For still another reason the book is significant. Gandhi, more than any other modern Asiatic, has focussed in himself the attitude and reaction of Asia to its contact with the West. Out of this contact will come the next great change in the life of mankind. In saying this I am not thinking primarily of the political aspect of the matter. The contact and its reaction involve all elements of life. Gandhi's attitude and reaction do not embody all those elements in their full strength of course, but his insistence upon self-dependence and complete mutuality of respect in all fields of life is the fundamental basis upon which all sound relationships between East and West must proceed.

Many people say that Gandhi is not great intellectually. I differ from them. It is true that he is not bookish and that his mind does not dwell upon academic matters. But we should not confuse the content of thought with the quality of the thinking instrument. Intellect has various qualities such as range, depth, acuteness, analytic power, synthetic power, quickness, subtlety, sensitiveness, delicacy, strength, steadiness, concentration, persistence, etc. In most of these qualities, except range, Gandhi's mind ranks very high, and his limitation of range is more a matter of choice than of inability. The mind which discerns the most important problem now in the world (the problem of human conflict and individual and group relationships), solves that problem in the best way yet evolved, and lives that solution in circumstances of great difficulty, and successfully teaches the solution to many others—that mind, I believe, is a very great mind. Certain British people may assert that Gandhi thinks badly, but they say that in relation to matters where he does not do what they want him to do. But the fact that Gandhi does not dwell upon certain points which seem important to his opponents and does not always do what they wish, may be only because he sees further than they do and has a truer sense of perspective and of values.

The style of the writing is simple, clear, direct and strong. The book is a wonderful revelation of a wonderful personality. We are enabled to see his towering strength, his indomitable will, courage and persistence, his faith, his creative power, his utter devotion to truth and Ahimsa (i. e., gentle loving kindness to all). Other living men may have spiritual insight as profound and clear as Gandhi's or even more so, but I know none who has made his own life so closely correspond to his spiritual vision and who also has such compelling power to persuade other people to try to do their level best to do likewise. In that he is supreme.

Perhaps because of the modesty of the man, the book does not wholly reveal certain of his qualities as his friends know them. One of these is his delightful humor and keen wit; another is the charm of his personality. Another is his unique power of winning the love of all who come to know him. What little he tells of his married life misleads the Western reader by an apparent rigid asceticism. But the man himself is marvelously tender, loving and compassionate. Western readers must realize that the most difficult of all the elements for a stranger to understand in a foreign civilization is the marriage relation peculiar to that civilization. That relation is the subtlest and most profound and distinctive of all, and no outsider is competent to judge of it. The quality of it is peculiar to each culture and cannot satisfy or be fully understood by a person from another culture. Still less can it be understood or appreciated through the printed word.

Gandhi is ascetic, but only in the original Greek sense of the training which an athlete underwent in order to win a race. We may not agree with him as to what is or is not necessary or desirable, but we can all recognize the basis of his choice and his sincerity and devotion and courage in pursuing it. His principles are austere, but in their application to others his humanity and kindliness always make ample allowance for them, and his love irradiates the whole. Some miss in him an appreciation of aesthetic beauty, but I cannot blame him for feeling that beauty of moral relationships is what the world most needs at present, and for concentrating on that.

In its original form the book filled two large volumes. The work of compression and editing has been very skilfully and sympathetically done by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has known Mr. Gandhi intimately for many years.

RICHARD B. GREGG.

II.

The readers of UNITY will recall the serial of Gandhi's own story as it appeared in UNITY. They will be glad to have it in permanent form. But it is not on Gandhi's autobiography, thrilling and significant as it is, that I want to comment; nor on the preface written by Charles F. Andrews, the editor of the volume. Mr. Andrews is an authoritative interpreter of Gandhi. His "The Ideas of Mahatma Gandhi" is a superb interpretation of a great Oriental by a great Occidental soul.

Following the preface is the introduction by John Haynes Holmes, and it is on the introduction that I want to comment. Mr. Holmes, himself a great soul, has written of many renowned persons. His criticisms have sometimes been too severe, sometimes too generous, but always true to his own highly sensitized social conscience. In recent years there have been reams of appraisals by many critics of great men, both the living and the dead. But none by Mr. Holmes or anyone

*Mahatma Gandhi, His Own Story. Edited by C. F. Andrews, with an introduction by John Haynes Holmes. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930. $2.50

else reveals more spiritual insight into another soul than does the introduction to the volume under discussion. This introduction is one of the most genuine, penetrating, and eloquent tributes ever paid to mortal man.

The personal setting of this tribute is well nigh perfect. Mr. Holmes, like Gandhi, is devoted to the non-resistant, non-violent, soul-force life philosophy of Jesus and Leo Tolstoy. Even more than Gandhi, Holmes was unequivocal in his advocacy of peace while the world wallowed in war. Again, like Gandhi, Mr. Holmes has championed at any hazard worthy but unpopular causes and has devoted himself utterly to the greater good yet to be. He it was who first introduced Gandhi to the American people.

Moreover, the present political setting for this tribute is well nigh perfect. Gandhi has just come out of what the world thought was retirement but which in fact was a period of spiritual preparation for both himself and his people. Although in jail, Gandhi is the recognized leader of an emancipation movement for 320,000,000 people, the like of which only a few visionary souls ever even dared to dream, much less put in action. The statesmen of the world are contemplating the Simon Report, looking to a round-table discussion in London, and astonished at the daily happenings in India.

With this background Mr. Holmes walked into his study, answered a few letters, gave some general instructions to his staff, and then took up a pencil and began to write, or did he dictate? Upon second thought, I believe he dictated. Not even his own longhand could have kept up with the flow of thought and feeling recorded in that introduction.

The opening sentence ranks Gandhi "as one of the supremely great personalities not only of his own but of all times." The autobiography, he says, is "the drama of inward conviction and outward circumstance which has brought Gandhi to the center of the stage in an hour big with fate for all mankind." As he turns the pages of the autobiography he has "a feeling akin to awe." The story he feels to be naive in its simplicity, startling in frankness, sublime in integrity. Then he remembers that the chapters first appeared in this country in the columns of UNITY; and he pays sincere respect to Andrews for his editorial work in putting the matter in a form that "should become a classic of autobiographical literature in the English tongue." He surveys Gandhi's extraordinary career in South Africa where he, by sheer force of personal example, welded undisciplined, indentured laborers into a single body which won by soul-force the victories and the freedom they sought.

Then came the 1919-22 period when Gandhi took his place with "Bruce, Washington, Garibaldi, Sun Yat-sen, as one of the supreme patriots of human liberty." But unlike these men his weapon was the spirit, not the sword. The 1919-22 experiment with the spirit failed for the time being, not because of any inherent weakness of the principle but because of haste and lack of inner preparation. Said Sir George Lloyd, the English Governor of Bombay, "Gandhi's was the most colossal experiment in world history, and it came within an inch of succeeding."

The introduction moves swiftly through Gandhi's years of further inner discipline, both of himself and of his people. The political situations are sketched in broad outlines. Then Gandhi stands before the 1928 session of the India National Congress and gives his solemn pledge that if the Congress will wait one more year for freedom, and if freedom is not then granted, he will lead the people in another nationwide non-cooperative, non-resistant movement of the soul for the freedom desired by the people.

This pledge Gandhi is now fulfilling although prison walls separate him from personal contact with the men who are executing his will.

And now, says Holmes, "we have on the earth today, in the person of Mahatma Gandhi, the latest in the august succession of the supreme spiritual geniuses of all time." He is compared to Jesus. "If we would know what Jesus was as a saint, and also what he did, or tried to do, as a savior, we have only to look across the seas to this greatest man in the world today." . . . "Gandhi has for India, the Empire and mankind, 'the way of life.' Will men refuse this now again, as they refused it once before?"

Holmes, almost thou persuadest me to become a disciple of the Mahatma—but not quite. Without doubt the total effect of Gandhi's ideas and life upon the thought and conduct of mankind ranks him as one of the few greatest men of all time, and yet I find myself differing with him on nearly all of the fundamentals of his principles and programs. But that is another story.

CURTIS W. REESE.

Correspondence

Russia and Anthracite Coal in Boston

Editor of UNITY:

In your issue of October 13 you state that the Soviet trading organizations are engaging to sell anthracite coal in Boston under the American price on the specific condition that it be retailed at "so many dollars a ton under the market price for domestic coal." This assertion has no foundation in fact.

The Soviet coal shipped in Boston is special high grade anthracite, analyzing materially above the American standard of quality. The selling price c. i. f. Boston is specified at not less than from $2.10 to $2.30 per ton higher than the price at the mine of American anthracite as published in the coal trade journals of even date.

The actual prices per ton in Boston to the dealers, for American anthracite and for Soviet anthracite, allowing for loss on degradation, are as follows:

American anthracite:

Quoted price, less discount	$8.10
Loss on degradation, 3 per cent fines	.45
Railroad transportation to Philadelphia	2.09
Ocean freight Philadelphia to Boston	.75
Total	$11.39

Soviet anthracite:

Price c. i. f. Boston	$10.45
Loss from degradation, 11 per cent of fines at 15 cents per 1 per cent of fines per ton	1.65
Total	$12.10

During the past five years American imports of anthracite coal from all sources have averaged about 400,000 tons. In 1929 the Soviet Union furnished 29 per cent of these imports. The imports from the Soviet Union amounted to less than one-tenth of one per cent of the American production.

The Soviet Union is hardly interested in selling its products abroad below production costs. The tales of dumping come largely from irresponsible or anonymous sources. This whole subject is treated logically in the

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

World Conference for International Peace Through Religion

Switzerland is a delightful country in which to hold peace conferences. Berne is a beautiful little city with its delicious old arcades, its markets, its churches. In the center of Berne are the parliamentary buildings, one side of them looking out onto the shopping district, the other close by the great walled precipice down which you look to the winding river and quaint tiled roofs far below. Here last August were held the sessions of the Executive Committee of the proposed World Conference for International Peace through Religion.

A preliminary conference was held in Geneva in 1928. The Executive Committee has since held meetings in Germany and Paris. A large number of individuals eminent in economics, science, sociology, literature, art and religion have given this effort their approbation. It is clearly understood that no participant will be encouraged to exploit his own religion except in so far as it has worked for the abolition of war. As a folder states: "The sole purpose of the conference will be to consider how the sources of religion in all nations can be mobilized in a concerted action against war and that spirit and those things that make for war." Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, is the very efficient and enthusiastic executive secretary.

The disturbed conditions in some countries, particularly in China and India, have somewhat delayed the promotion of this enterprise. However, the meeting of the Executive Committee at Berne this summer was encouraging in many respects. Almost sixty were present. They met in the senate chamber, the sessions being opened with periods of silent prayer, this being a form of service most inclusive in its character, and in which people of all religions and faiths can unite. The following countries were represented at Berne, namely: India, Germany, Britain, the United States, France, Ceylon, Japan, Switzerland, Egypt, Poland, Bulgaria and Holland. They included Christians both Catholic and Protestant, Hindus, Moslems, Buddists, Bahais and Jews.

Dr. Atkinson reported a widespread growth of interest in the aims and objects of the proposed conference, especially in Asia. He said in part: "Wherever one turns one faces cynicism in the face of existing conditions and a scepticism regarding any possibility of a peaceful future. It is no easy task that faces us. A survey of the world political life gives little comfort for the future. The recognized balance of power behind the larger nations controlling the destiny of all peoples in the leading countries throughout the earth cannot be brought to an end without causing a revolution more far reaching in its effect than any that has ever transpired heretofore in the history of the world. Palestine, Egypt, all the Near East and Middle East are seething with discontent. This is no time for false optimism; but on the other hand, I believe this not a time for religious-minded folk to give up to despair. Every major problem that faces humanity today has in it elements that defy any solution other than that based on a religion of spiritual values. The religions of the world have at their command the forces for helping humanity at this juncture of world affairs. It is a day that challenges faith, and I believe that if we stand together we can make some contribution that will be for the lasting benefit of the world and will most certainly help to reinforce that love of religion which is inherent in every human heart."

During the session four commissions began work preparative to the World Conference in 1932. These commissions are to explore the influences that make for war; the spiritual resources by which they can be met; the contribution religion has to make to world peace, and by what methods religion can best make its contribution thereto.

At the opening session, which I attended, the committee was welcomed by the vice-president of the Swiss Republic. During his speech he mentioned that his country had not been engaged in any war for three centuries. At the closing session the president of Switzerland was present and expressed his interest and sympathy with the initiative which the conference had taken.

The Executive Committee has received and accepted an invitation from the American Congressional Commission which is arranging for the bi-centenary of George Washington's birthday to hold the proposed conference at Washington, D. C., 1932, in connection with that celebration.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

Some Accomplishments of the Eighteenth Amendment

The Eighteenth Amendment has set up a standard for the nation.

It has challenged the thoughtful consideration, by the American people, of the beverage alcohol problem, as they have not been challenged by any other great social problem since that of domestic slavery.

It has pioneered a new realm of social legislation, which is bound to be more and more in evidence in connec-

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October *Bulletin* of the National City Bank. The *Bulletin* says: "We confess to skepticism towards representations that under these circumstances (i. e., the need for developing the Soviet Union with the help of an expansive program of importing foreign machinery) they deliberately and designedly sell their products for less than they might obtain. It does not seem that such a policy would best serve their purposes. . . . We doubt that they intend to enrich the capitalist countries by giving something for nothing or on any better terms than seem to be necessary."

A similar view was expressed by J. D. Mooney, vice-president of General Motors, in a recent address in Paris after he had emerged from a 4,000-mile tour of the Soviet Union. The New York *Times* of October 8 reported:

"He repudiated with energy the widespread charge that Russia, through a policy of dumping, was attempting to demoralize the world's legitimate trade by underselling competitors."

In an Associated Press dispatch of October 12, printed in the Washington *Post*, W. J. Austin, president of the Austin Company of Cleveland, which is building a $60,000,000 industrial city and automobile plant in the Soviet Union, expressed the same view on his return from a two months' study of conditions in the Soviet Union.

HAROLD KELLOCK.

Washington, D. C.

State Socialism in Russia

Editor of UNITY:

I think the experiment in "State Socialism" which is going on in Russia is of the utmost interest and importance. I consider the road of the development to run very likely this way: First step forward, State Socialism; second, liberal Socialism; third, Communism, and maybe, fourth, Gandhiism (brotherly love).

I claim for quite a few days, months or years the heavy hand of the state will be needed to keep the people on the right road! As shown by what happens to our friend, MacDonald, as Prime Minister of England, when he has to approve the knocking down of men, women and children in India. It would cause a funny feeling within me if I had to do it, for the sake of holding office.

PETER FIEBIGER.

Leonia, New Jersey.

Gandhi's Miracle in India

[From a personal letter to Mr. Holmes written by a citizen of Bombay. This man is an Indian who has been a frequent visitor to Europe, England and America, is a personal and trusted friend of leading political figures in Great Britain, and is intimately familiar with conditions in India.]

"The country (India) is solidly behind the Congress (Gandhi's National Congress), and I can hardly describe to you the suffering and the hardship that the people here have been putting up against brutal and inhuman treatment. * * * Business and trade are all paralyzed, and there is gloom and bankruptcy all over the country, but with all that, the people are cheerfully bearing up against the ill-treatment meted out by the police and the officials. The power of suffering and of endurance generated by Gandhi's teachings has worked a miracle, and you see every day wonderful signs of the transformation that has come over the men and women of this country."

tion with other welfare problems in the years to come.

It has established a principle of human liberty and real freedom which belongs in the class with slave emancipation and popular government.

It has mitigated, more than can ever be recounted, the serious social consequences that would undoubtedly have followed the World War but for that amendment and the laws enacted pursuant thereto.

It has taken from the nefarious beverage alcohol traffic the sanction of government and the protection of law.

It has through the operation of the law of supply and demand eliminated the saloon.

It has put an end to beer, whisky and wine advertisements on the billboards, in the magazines and in the daily press.

It has torn the mask of respectability from the vintner, the brewer, the distiller, the wholesaler, and the retailer of intoxicating liquors, and has placed all such in the criminal class.

It has made possible a fairer distribution of the weekly pay checks among the wives and children of millions of families.

It alone of all systems ever tried in the nation has checked the growth of the liquor traffic in our great cities.

It has contributed incalculably to the elimination of licensed commercial vice as a source of government revenue.

It has made the "Old Soak" almost an extinct species.

It has made it possible for a new generation to grow into citizenship, recognizing the beverage alcohol traffic as an institution under the ban of law rather than one with the government's stamp of approval upon it.

It has tended to reveal rather than to create lawless tendencies in certain classes of our population.

It has made the streets and highways safer than they would otherwise have been for men, women and children.

It has made even the speakeasy and blind tiger far less harmful than the old brothel and dive which used those names in the old days for purposes of respectability.

It has brought the standard of efficiency and safety promotion in government up to the standard of the American railroad with its Rule "G" and of multiplied thousands of highly mechanized and electrified industrial plants with similar rules.

It has made the beverage alcohol traffic, which only yesterday was king in our economic, social and political life, a criminal—a fugitive from justice with a price upon its head—an outlaw—a hunted thing.

It has made hundreds of thousands of better homes, millions of more contented wives and mothers, and many more millions of happier little children.

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON
World League Against Alcohol

League, Pact, and Pacifists

Uncritical rejoicing over the unquestionable advance for peace made by the Pact of Paris has often taken the form of declarations that "the "pacifist is now the patriot." That time may come, but it is not here yet. Holland is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. Fifteen pacifists now languish in prison at Scheveningen for refusal of military service.

Switzerland is a member and "home nation" of the League, and a signer of the Pact. War resisters are sentenced to prison in this country and are often resentenced when their terms have run out.

Czechoslovakia is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. Its government maintains a severe censorship over pacifist literature, persecutes pacifist societies, and jails war resisters.

France is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. French war resisters are jailed and re-jailed ruthlessly.

Soviet Russia is not a member of the League but is a signer of the Pact. It persecutes its pacifists in many cases mercilessly and makes no concessions to its war resisters, though at one time it adopted for a while a tolerant and sympathetic policy

Finland is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. It arrests active pacifists and imprisons war resisters.

In Jugoslavia, Spain, New Zealand, Poland, and other countries in varying degree the story is the same. And the United States, not a member of the League but an initiator of the Pact, bars pacifists from becoming citizens.

—*The World Tomorrow.*

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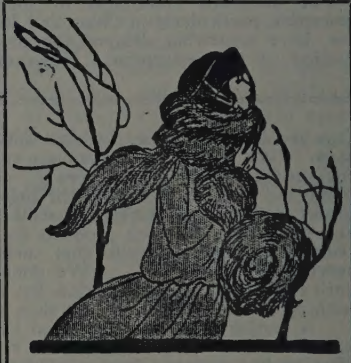
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